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ABSTRACT

Educational development in Saudi Arabia is closely related to Moslem religious belief. A review of the socio/cultural behavior based upon Saudi religious belief can provide insight to educators on how to make educational and research activities in developing nations more relevant to people with a non-Western frame of reference. Among muslims, personal responsibility for the moral ordering of the natural world is considered a strong mandate. Also, important in Moslem culture are male camaraderie, hospitality, personal tranquility, social harmony, refined courtesy, social solidarity, and a view of all activities as integral parts of one's role as a human being. To develop educational programs in accordance with Saudis' frame of reference, educators should devise curriculum so that it consists of integrated and meaningful information along a theme. Educators should also encourage students to use impressions and intuitions when seeking answers and should avoid compartmentalizing data into artificial segments. Educators will devise curriculum which is more relevant to individuals in developing nations if they pay attention to values and social behaviors in the culture they are trying to serve. (DB)

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Educational R&D in Saudi Arabia: An Ethnomethodological Analysis

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> Any scientific understanding of human action, at whatever level of ordering or generality, must begin with and be built upon an understanding of the everyday life of the members performing those actions. (1)

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was established during the first third of this century through the courage and resourcefulness of its first king, Abdul-Aziz al-Saud. Ibn Saud, as he was known, was the heir to the Saud family's traditional rule of Najd, the desert and oases of the Arabian peninsula's center. Saudi Arabia today is comprised of previously separate entities: Asir, the Hejaz, the Empty Quarter, Najd, Sharqiya and al-Ahsa. Although there is cultural, ethnic, and religious unity within the Kingdom, the scope of this paper is limited to life in Najd, and, particularly, in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. The Arabian Desert was one of the last great barriers for imperialism, which never crossed it, and exploration, which, in European terms, occurred only within the last century. The nomads and town dwellers of Najd have had uninterrupted millenia during which their cultural forms have developed in relative isolation. Today, this traditional society is fully occupied with joining the modern, global community. We try to comprehend everyday life in Riyadh in order to

facilitate the use of education for bringing the Saudi people into full participation in that global community.

In trying to develop this comprehension, I set out "to study the phenomena of everyday life on their own terms, or to make use only of methods of observation and analysis that retain the integrity of the phenomena."(2) The city at large became the laboratory with a participant-observer as scientist. Normally, ethnomethodologists make a conscious effort to divest themselves of their social background in order to observe from an intellectual distance or interact as a cultural alien. For an American abroad this divestiture was automatic and irresistible, although it should be noted that my physiognomy and dress gave me the appearance of a non-Saudi Arab. In situations where I was a participant, I was inevitably perceived to be a non-Saudi Arab until I revealed my ignorance of the Arabic language. My involuntary "disguise" allowed me to be an unobtrusive part of the social scene since thousands of non-Saudi Arabs live and work in Riyadh. Had I affected the Saudi "thobe" and "shmagh" (robe and headscarf), the illusion would have been even more complete.

As a social scientist and an educator working toward the development of Saudi education it was not surprising that I should try to maintain, under the circumstances, the "theoretic stance": standing back from, reflecting upon, and re-viewing experience otherwise taken for granted.(3) As a true alien, my only alternative--that is, to accept unthinkingly my cultural naivete--seemed to me to be intellectually irresponsible and professionally ineffective. Natanson describes the "phenomenological suspension" basic

to the "theoretic stance" [4] in this way:

> When I suspend or place in abeyance my common-sense belief in reality, I merely decide to make no use of the thesis which ordinarily guides our total cognitive and conative life; but this thesis is not to be understood as a proposition or a formulated article of faith. Rather, it is the unstated, utterly implicit theme of our common-sense relatedness to reality. ...
>
> Phenomenological suspension or, to use Husserl's term epoché, consists in making explicit to consciousness the thesis which unconsciously underlies every individual judgment made within ordinary life about reality. (5)

Ethnomethodology involves more than a passive reflection on events. When my cultural ineptness disrupted the normal flow of life around me, I made note of it. Also, when I was bold, I intentionally disrupted this flow. From passive observation and accidental and intentional disruption come the data for this paper. The purpose underlying all of this is the desire to understand Saudi society in order to foster educational development.

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The Significance of Islam

Saudi Arabia may be the world's only contemporary theocracy. The citizenry is uniformly Muslim, of the Wahhabi sect, and the king and his ministers rule in cooperation with a council of religious elders, the Ulama. One manifestation of this unity is the suspension five times daily of commercial and other activity as the faithful are called to pray ("salah"). No one can fail to notice that all businesses are closed (for twenty to thirty minutes) during prayer and that throughout the city in mosques, offices, and parks, men prostrate themselves to Allah. (Women pray in private, at home.)

This dramatic and frequent occurrence of prayer has at least two de facto meanings: (a) the preeminence of spiritual life over material gain; and, (b) the unity of the faithful in Islam. Prayer is less a "conversation of the heart with God"[6] and more a public declaration of faith than, for example, in Christianity. The social impact of both of these meanings is considerable and colors everyday life in Riyadh and throughout the Kingdom. The educator, as an agent of change in society, can derive advantage from this disposition to spirituality and unity although it is contrary to Western tendencies to compartmentalize persons and treat spirituality as a private affair.

The significance of Islam in Najdi society is further illustrated by this comparison:

> Despite the tremendous variety of religious orientation that has arisen in different sects or orders within the Christian tradition, a central theme has retained its hold on Christian imaginations under all sorts of circumstances, a theme ever presented to them anew especially in the writings of Paul and of John: the demand for personal responsiveness to redemptive love in a corrupted world. An equally wide variety of religious orientation has arisen among Muslims of different allegiances and tariqahs, and among them also a central theme has retained its power under the most diverse circumstances whenever the Qur'an has been taken seriously: the demand for personal responsibility for the moral ordering of the natural world. (7)

In the typology developed by Carl Jung,[8] such an emphasis characterizes a society as being an "extraverted feeling type" interested primarily in its moral and affective relations. (Western society is seen in this model as an "extraverted sensation type" emphasizing accomplishment in the realm of science and technology; the Indian

subcontintent's as an "introverted intellectual type" wherein individual psychological fulfillment is preeminently valued.)[9] Educational reform should proceed from the premise that in Saudi society the individual's responsibility after honoring Allah is to assist in the moral ordering or the natural world.

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The Tradition of Authority

Either from ignorance or carelessness in driving I have brought upon myself encounters with Riyadh's traffic patrol no less than four times. In each case my driver's license was examined while the officer apprised me of the error of my ways. In each case I assumed an attitude of complete acquiescence. And in each case I was sent on my way with only a reprimand.

In a similar vein, I relate the story of my refrigerator which, one month after purchase, was "burned out" (i.e., the compressor ruined) by excessive voltage in my apartment. The fault was mine and no warranty was, therefore, applicable. After the expensive repair was completed, I went to the store owner to pay but he waived any compensation. I had not asked for this undeserved favor, nor had I attempted to place blame on him in any way.

Perhaps the error is in my perception but it seemed to me in repeated instances that if the authority and correctness of another were acknowledged, I was likely to gain favors beyond my expectations. From experiences like these, I inferred that the social behavior which had primary significance in these situations was the recognition of authority. Once recognized as such, the person in authority

was likely to return the "favor" by granting largess even though regulations might thereby be ignored.

There is undoubtedly a balance struck in every society between the abstract word of law and the concrete intervention of the authorities who administer the law. As a Westerner, this balance appeared to me to shift in Riyadh a bit in favor of the discretion of the administrator. Educators entering such a milieu should adapt to it. The system is quite workable, but not for the ethnocentric individual who, in futility, refuses to adjust to it.

Ironically, individualistic Westerners are comfortable with absolving themselves of responsibility in the face of a regulation, whereas the Saudi, more committed to social unity, will override a rule through personal initiative. Educators may be advised not, therefore, to permit themselves an excessive reliance on paper productivity and acknowledge, instead, the importance of dealing with the parties they seek to influence in a personal way.

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The Rhythm of Traffic

> What struck me first when working with different cultures in different parts of the world was how everybody moved. If one wanted to fit in, or not appear too conspicuous, it was helpful to begin to move to the local rhythm and conform to the local beat. (10)

A common lament among Westerners in Riyadh is their difficulty in coping, as drivers, with the traffic. To me, driving was a most evocative experience.

Riyadh has wide streets divided, in the manner of boulevards,

by single lines of trees, usually date palms. A Dutch system of traffic signals is in place as are a number of Belgian, steel "flyovers." The city is awash with all types of automobiles and light and heavy trucks. In my first days in Riyadh as a passenger in taxis I wondered how I would cope with the rapid tempo of driving and the apparent spate of unwritten conventions. Soon enough I had the chance to find out.

Traffic moved fast and, during my first year, there was little recognition of fixed lanes. I had the impression of being swept in a wind which whirled across flyovers and around rotaries (traffic circles) in its path. It was remarkable to have cars pass me on both sides and merge ahead in my lane. Learning to negotiate the rotaries while moving rapidly and, also, remembering the few specific places where one drove on the left side of the street were two other enervating experiences. Although there were frequent collisions, it seemed to me that all this was not madness. I set out to discover the method hidden in the maelstrom.

Driving is a sport in Riyadh and the streets are the playing field. Each player is expected to know the intricacies of every intersection and straightaway and then cooperate with all others in moving swiftly and efficiently around the city. The effect is not of a competitive race but of a synchronized display. A great deal more attentiveness is required of each driver than, at least, the average American is accustomed to generating. One must know where the potholes are, where the protruding manhole emplacements are. One must anticipate which lane he (only men may drive) should be in several blocks in advance. Few city-wide conventions

exist: each intersection has its own rules. One must be continually aware of traffic to either side of him and to the front and rear.

All this would not be so different from driving in Manhattan except that in Riyadh practice overrides universal laws. For example, if two one-way streets are joined by a cross-street (see Diagram A) cars will generally take the left side on the cross-street. This is true regardless of how Siemens (a Dutch company) has marked the street. This "ad hoc-ism" surpasses in efficiency a slavish devotion to right-hand driving so long as everyone adopts the convention.

If two cars meet at right angles on a quiet intersection and both drivers wish to make left-hand turns (see Diagram B), the best form will involve the driver on the right turning behind the driver on the left rather than either crossing the other's path in the intersection. The driver on the left will inch ahead to facilitate this process so that both cars clear the intersection simultaneously.

Unfortunately, no good system exists for backing into parallel parking spaces. Every strategem I attempted failed since drivers behind me would pull up flush with the rear of my car. The approved technique is to nose in and awkwardly work one's way into the space.

Finally, rotaries are subject to two general modes of practice. When two two-way streets meet in a traffic circle, the artful driver is expected to merge rapidly with traffic while sliding between inner and outer lanes so that he exits the intersection without stopping to yield. More dramatically, if a two-way and a one-way street intersect in a rotary which,

Diagram A

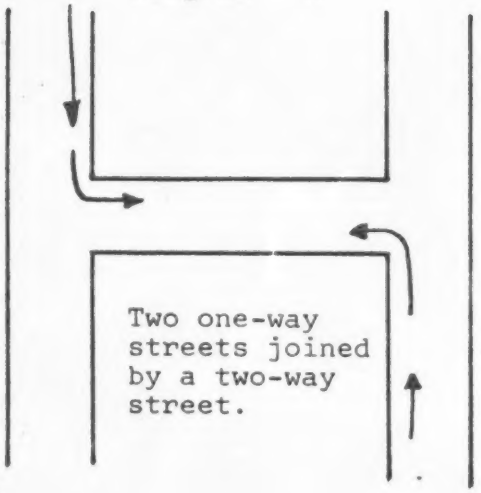


Diagram B

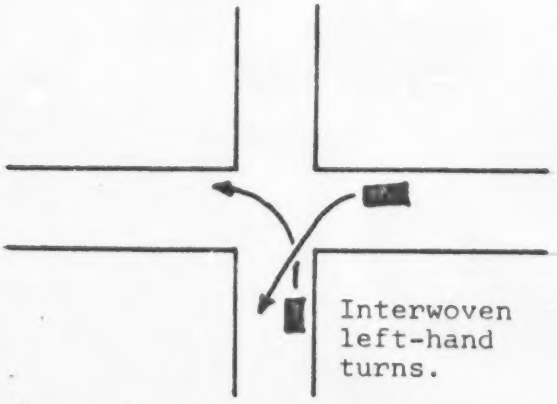
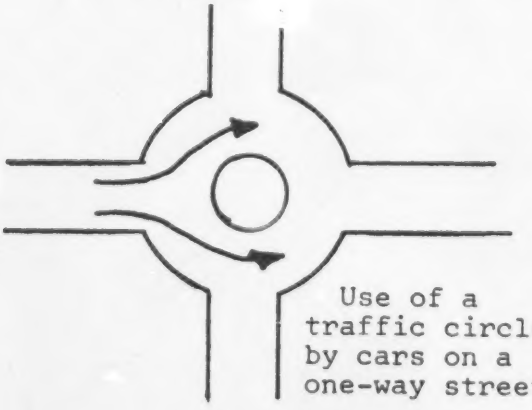


Diagram C



unlike others has traffic signals (see Diagram C), the autos entering from the one-way street will flow around both sides of the circle, overriding its normal function. When the signal changes, autos entering from the two-way street will pass through the rotary in the usual counterclockwise fashion. No prudent driver jumps the light in entering traffic circles where these practices are in effect.

This year, teams of workers lined Riyadh's main thoroughfares with convex reflectors which delineate conventional lanes. A driver who ignores them is vibrated back to obeisance. Driving has been simplified enormously by these four- by one-inch rubber hemispheres. It was as if the "major league's rules committee" had made a basic change in the design of the playing field--"for the good of the sport."

Several conclusions can be drawn from this report on traffic. Life in cars reinforces the notion expressed previously that regulations are often subordinate to individual initiative in Riyadh, even in the sacrosanct (to the American) realm of traffic conventions. Secondly, individuals are expected to be capable of synchronising their activity at a high level of sophistication. Finally, a driver is to be alert. The norm is to be extremely alert.

Najd, home of the Arabian people for uninterrupted centuries, fits in so many ways Hall's definition of a "high-context" culture:

> A high-context communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A

> low-context communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (11)

Life in Riyadh is a "high-context" experience and the would-be educational reformer must come to understand the complex, established conventions of social life to be effective in such a culture. These include the aforementioned attitudes toward alertness, cooperation, and personal responsibility, for example.

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Male Interpersonal Relations

The "high-context" character of life in Riyadh is evident in the way in which Saudi men affirm their camaraderie. By now the world is well acquainted with the ritualized kiss and embrace of Arabia, so different from the Western handshake. The kiss of greeting is one remarkable practice which helps affirm--even sustain--the social unity so basic to Saudi life. This unaffected ritual, so natural in Riyadh, introduces the stranger to the Arabian world of male friendship.

An "extraverted feeling type" society manifests itself in customs alien to the Westerner's eye. Like embracing, men walking hand in hand is a natural, public expression of friendship. It is amusing how ethnocentric foreigners can read so much which is inaccurate into such behavior while, at the same time, revealing the idiosyncrasies and repressions of their own cultures.

Male camaraderie is affirmed by the tradition of hospitality and the Saudi host's talent for putting his guests at ease whether through the scent of frankincense or the tiny cups

of cardamom-flavored coffee. Non-violence is another apparent aspect of this solidarity. There may be posturing, gestures, and glares, but a resort to blows is notably absent, even among adolescents. One underlying reason for the effort to "get along together" is the age-old tradition of blood-feud and vengeance: once a disagreement comes to violence, it is difficult to settle it with dignity for all.

The intimate manner of address between Saudi men is the "kunya," in which a man is called "father of [first son's name]"; i.e., "Abu [Ahmed]." I had not given much thought to the custom until a Saudi friend broached the topic one day to say in a moving way that I should recognize that this greeting was meaningful beyond words for him and summarized the emotional experience of intimate friendship by its use. I was truly impressed by his sincerity and his desire to awaken me to this aspect of the culture.

Courtesy is another consequence of the emphasis on social solidarity. In queues, even in traffic, I have witnessed gracious acts of courtesy. By personal cleanliness, deference, and grace in conversation, Saudis show a true gift for courtesy--"the ritual through which we avoid hurting one another's feelings."(12)

Solidarity is enhanced by the relative absence of racism in Najd. The American Muslim Malcolm X eloquently affirmed this quality in telling of his pilgrimage to Mecca--one of his life's peak experiences.(13)

One everyday experience symbolically sums up the character of Saudi male relations for me. Time and again in offices, private homes, or on the desert floor, I spent time relaxing,

talking, and drinking sweet Ceylonese tea with groups of Saudi men. Repeatedly, I was impressed by the mood induced by such gatherings. To the Westerner it might appear that "nothing was happening"--even conversation was not a vital focus. There was an almost tangible emotional climate, however, and it was one of contentment and relaxation. These men had the ambitions and frustrations of people anywhere, but, naturally and without effort, they seemed always able to summon a climate of peace for their social gatherings. My belief is that for men attuned to the beauty and value of human friendship a quiet meeting where men could graciously enjoy one another's presence was the purest delight, an experience beyond price or description, a momentary brush with human fulfillment. Such is the difference among cultures that the triumphs of one are invisible to the members of another. How much, it seems, we have to learn from one another; in this case, the ability of the Saudi, from a sense of courtesy, to subordinate his moods, his transitory concerns, out of a humane regard for the emotional peace of his friends.

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The Notion of Time

> Monochronic time emphasizes schedules, segmentation, and promptness. Polychronic time systems are characterized by several things happening at once. They stress involvement of people and completion of transactions rather than adherence to preset schedules. P-time is treated as much less tangible than M-time. P-time is apt to be considered a point rather than a ribbon or a road, and that point is sacred. (14)

The experience of time in Riyadh reminded me of Jung's writings

on synchronicity. By postulating this principle Jung set out to explore the realm of what Westerners call coincidence. Jung considered the hypothesis that coincidences were not "mere coincidences" but were events connected by some acausal and as yet unidentified factor. Life in Riyadh called this to my mind because "coincidences" seemed to me to happen with greater frequency and against greater odds than I had been accustomed to. I attribute this to what Hall labels the Arabs' notion of polychronic time. In other words, by being open to the many possibilities of any one moment in time, a person is likely not to miss a coincidence should it occur. I found it to be fruitful to rely on coincidence as a regular part of life in Riyadh. If, for example, I needed to see someone, I would often wait for chance to bring us together.

One incident stands out in my mind. My wife had on a given day received from a colleague a map showing the way to her home. The next day my wife and I returned from a long shopping trip and I was wondering how I would most efficiently transport my heavy load of groceries to our fifth floor flat when, as I shut down the engine, a man came up to my car window. This man had just arrived from Pakistan and had taken a taxi from the airport to a point near my building. Riyadh is a sprawling city of around a million people and this man had, through a complete miscalculation, been brought to my district. He had given the taxi driver some vague instructions in mutually alien English. He wanted to go to the women's university campus because he was to contact a family friend who taught there. The driver had dropped him off about five miles from his goal. Unknown to the Pakistani, he would find no help at the campus in any case on Friday, the Muslim Sabbath.

The telephone and street marking systems are currently being completed in Riyadh. It is not easy to find a place for the first time and impossible to locate a private residence through, for example, a telephone directory. Blissfully ignorant of the odds against him, our traveller went up to the first people he saw and rapped on their car window.

The man said to me that he was looking for a Mrs. H. who taught at the university. My wife explained that she had, yesterday, been given a map showing the way to Mrs. H.'s residence, a female hostel. Struck in the face with another incredible Najdi coincidence and playing along, I told the man that if he would only help me carry my perishable foodstuffs to my flat, I would be glad to deliver him to the hostel's door--about four miles away in a district distinct from ours, the airport's, and the women's campus's.

This multi-tiered coincidence did not surprise me at the time since I had grown accustomed to such happenings. Without intending any mystical allusions, I, in honesty, point out that people's relation to time in Riyadh is different from what I as a Westerner had been accustomed to.

The importance of this for the educator is to adapt to the culture's sensibility. The Saudi ability to move in a milieu where several things are happening at once is, at the least, as good a way of dealing with time as our Western propensity toward linear sequence and scheduling. Without accepting Jung's interesting metaphysical explanation for synchronicity, one can be satisfied with the proposition that when people are conscious of multiple phenomena at a

moment in time, coincidences are more likely to be recognized. On the other hand, those who deliberately concentrate on single purposes and value "tunnel vision" will screen out coincidental occurrences.

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Miscellaneous Topics

One of our graduate assistants left a note one morning that informed us he would be gone from the country for one week to secure a maid for employment in his home. The opportunity had come suddenly and he had only hours to prepare and leave. Upon his return, to his surprise, he was in trouble with certain of his superiors. In my conversations with him he expressed amazement that anyone should disapprove of his securing help for his wife since it was important for his family. I tried to explain to him that to his Western-minded superiors, one's job was a compartmentalized field of activity which could only be subordinated by dire circumstances beyond an individual's control. What impressed me greatly was his sincere inability to conceptually dis-integrate his personal, family life from his role as an employee. This integrated view of work as a part of life not separate from one's role as a human being appears to me to have cultural significance. It is evidence of a scale of values unlike its Western counterpart.

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The traditional Saudi meal presents an experience in eating which was remarkable to me. At a grand affair whole lambs served on mounds of rice are the central course and, of course, one sits on the carpeted floor and eats with the right hand. I will not detail this evocative everyday event but focus on one aspect. The communal tray and the

anatomical integrity of the lamb combine to give the event of eating a feeling of close communality and contact with the sources of our physical sustenance. I could never feel that the emphasis was on savouring the food: it seemed to be on the transfer of plant and animal life into the life of the human community. Since I can treat this in only the most speculative way, I will not belabor the point. To me it was the sort of experience which Jung terms archetypal.

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Mood altering drugs have traditionally been proscribed in Islam because they interfere "with the sober, responsible mood"(15) that was held to be vital to moral responsibility. The "tension of consciousness" is maintained at a consistently high level in Riyadh. One is expected to be aware of his surroundings and prepared to cope responsibly with developing events. Again, I am touching on a highly subjective realm, but it bears mentioning that from quiescent exteriors, falcon's eyes always peered. Whereas the Westerner may swing from extremes of work to those of relaxation, the Saudi follows a more level course: his day is cut from one cloth and he bears his sense of moral responsibility continuously.

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Educational R&D in Riyadh

> In general, high-context communication, in contrast to low-context, is economical, fast, efficient, and satisfying; however, time must be devoted to programming. If this programming does not take place, the communication is incomplete. (16)

Hall's concept of high- and low-context culture leads us to a first principle for the reformist educator in Najd. (I.)

The explicit aspect of a message or act in Riyadh is often the least vital part: what is significant is the highly developed, internalized pattern of response which it cues. Westerners, particularly Americans, must become aware of the latent meaning of their words and behavior as they function in a high-context culture. First, awareness is necessary, and then careful planning must follow. Seemingly small acts or pronouncements may carry great meaning and move educators toward or away from their reformist goals with rapidity.

The experience of driving was treated at length in this paper because, although unrelated to education, it well illustrates how an everyday activity in Riyadh, even though familiar on the surface, can be thoroughly characterized by assumptions alien to the stranger. If one drives according to Western conventions in Riyadh, a hazard is created. If, on the other hand, one adapts to the de facto system, the difficulty of driving is merely consonant with Riyadh's metropolitan size. Educators should approach their role with an eye to understanding the cultural context so that their small responses, laden with meaning, will have been conceived with insight and precipitate progress and reform.

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In several ways, the characteristic "tension of consciousness" of citizens of Najd has been examined in the preceding vignettes. This "tension" is meant to refer to the quantity of phenomena which the Najdi habitually is aware of in a given situation. In driving, for example, his eyes and ears are focused and tuned to an exacting degree. In social

interaction, he is capable of comfortably dividing his attention among several persons. In Riyadh, coincidence is better termed synchronousness, since there appears to be a deliberative side to it. This "tension of consciousness" gives time a different feel: sequence is deemphasized while the experience of a given moment is intensified.

To the educational reformer this "tension of consciousness" suggests a second principle for action. (II.) Time should be understood as being the locus of intense, discrete clusters of experience wherein purposeful activity should be described from beginning to end in a multi-dimensional mode of communication. The reformer cannot depend on his collaborators to sustain interest in a "logical," but slow and linear process. Reformers should communicate with clusters of diverse but meaningful information along a theme rather than with compartmentalized data in which reality is deliberately broken into artificial segments. In Riyadh, it may not be necessary to fragment the "whole" in order to foster understanding of it: one can deal in "wholes."

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Complementary to the intensity of consciousness is its style. By "style of consciousness" is meant the qualitative selectivity the citizen of Riyadh practices in his perception of phenomena. That is to say, even granting an effective "tension of consciousness," experience remains so crowded with meaning that the observer has reason to attend to certain phenomena while habitually ignoring others. By using Jung's categorization of "extraverted feeling type" for Najdi society, I have implied that this is the "style of consciousness" of the population in question. Phenomena in the world outside

the person are given great attention (as opposed, for example to the "phenomena" of introspection), and among these social relations are of first priority.

The Islamic emphases on social solidarity and the "moral ordering of the natural world" foster this attitude. The bonds of male camaraderie and the practice of refined courtesy are tangible manifestations of it. The integrated view of work in the life of the person and a generally holistic view of individuals further reflect the "feeling" (Jung's meaning) attitude. For educational reformers a third principle emerges. (III.) Personal tranquillity and social harmony are the dominant motives for individual action and they are the qualities most highly valued; therefore, reform must honor and serve these ends.(17) There is no need to belabor the variance between, for example, the Western and Saudi cultures. Educators must not proceed under the assumption that the pursuit of material gain, mystical enlightenment, imperial dominance, or other alien values are of priority in Najd. The wisdom of a culture is manifested in its selection of goals; its genius in its ability to attain those goals; and its integrity in its commitment to those goals. Reformers must acknowledge the context in which they work.

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In terms of the everyday conduct of educational research and development these principles should guide action. For example, the reformers must never behave as though they had come to work in a cultural vacuum. It is tempting for a stranger from a culture whose values and achievements are of a different type from those of Najd to seek to impose what is alien and ignore what has been developing over millenia in Arabia. The sensate orientation of the West has little

in common with the moral emphasis of Islam. Educators must be very fine students of Saudi society if they are to have their service be most effective. A human achievement of considerable scope has been sent forth from the Arabian Peninsula and it should be understood by professionals in service there.

Since human relations have such priority in Najd, it is fitting that interpersonal communication is a refined practice there. Foreign educators should be conscious of the importance of congruence among their verbal messages, their gestures, tone, mannerisms and overall style of speech. The worth of a message is not likely to exceed the perceived sincerity of the speaker in everyday life and professional life in Riyadh. A person without courtesy and grace is likely to go unheard.

The airtight and airless linear process we in the West call "logic" is a style of rationality little employed in Saudi education. The reformer should be comfortable with impressions and intuitions as vehicles for seeking answers. Only by avoiding affective and moral issues have we in America, for example, been able to deal with education in such a rigidly and exclusively intellectual way. Saudis, I expect, neither wish to nor should narrow their field of vision to mimic ours. It is in everyone's interest that Saudi education should score accomplishments in Western-dominated fields like science and technology, but the path to these achievements cannot abandon the familiar terrain of holism and moral responsibility.

Perhaps there is a basic inflexibility in the pedagogy of the West which prohibits us not only from serving other

cultural groups effectively, but even from succeeding with many of our own students. The challenge to educational reformers in an exotic venue such as Najd may be the same challenge we face at home in the persons of the students we fail to serve. This type of student, whose values are not logocentric, is in the majority in Riyadh and cannot be ignored. Such students are the heirs to a culture which honors moral and affective experience: the same experience which Western educators habitually pass over.

Working for educational reform in Riyadh makes Westerners aware of the shortcomings of their own pedagogy. Whatever success we achieve in Najd, however, can lead us to success at home. Torn from our cultural womb, we find how vast the challenge of education truly is and how much thought and effort lies ahead.

Footnotes

1. Jack D. Douglas, "Understanding Everyday Life," in Jack D. Douglas (ed.), Understanding Everyday Life, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970, P. 11.

2. Ibid., P. 16.

3. Ibid., P. 15.

4. Ibid., P. 15.

5. Ibid., P. 15, Quote taken from Maurice Natanson, Literature, Philosophy, and the Social Sciences, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, pp. 34-44.

6. Caesar E. Farah, Islam: Beliefs and Observances, Woodbury, N. Y.: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1968, p. 135.

7. Marshall G.S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, Vol. II, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 337.

8. In his classic work Psychological Types. C.G. Jung, Collected Works, Vol. VI, New York: Bollingen Foundation, Inc., 1971.

9. Edmund D. Cohen, C.G. Jung and the Scientific Attitude, Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams, & Co., 1976, p. 120.

10. Edward T. Hall, Beyond Culture, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976, p. 79.

11. Ibid., p. 91.

12. Paraphrased from Kenneth Clark's narrative in Civilisation.

13. Malcolm X with Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X, New York: Grove Press, 1964.

14. Hall, op.cit., p. 17

15. Hodgson, op.cit., p. 569.

16. Hall, op.cit., p. 101.

17. "...it is no exaggeration to say that the standard of public security is higher in Sa'udi Arabia than perhaps in any country in the world, not excluding the most civilised."
George Antonius, The Arab Awakening, New York: Capricorn Books, 1946, p. 347.